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ABSTRACT

This study examined the effects of divorce and custody arrangements on Taiwanese children's emotional adjustment and gender role development 2 years post-divorce. The sample consisted of 90 children, 30 in father custody, 30 in mother custody, and 30 in intact families. Teachers, blind to study purposes and well-acquainted with the children, rated children on the Preschool Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ), which evaluates the degree of maladjustment. Each child also had an individual Gender Constancy Interview (GCI), and each parent provided demographic and family information. No differences in level of maladjustment were found for children of divorced versus intact families. Regardless of family status, boys were rated significantly more aggressive than girls. Regardless of custody arrangement, boys in divorced families were rated higher than girls as hostile-aggressive and hyperactive-distractible. Children with the same-sex custodial parent were rated as better adjusted emotionally than children in custody with the opposite-sex parent. Older preschool boys in mother custody had more advanced gender role development than children in other custody arrangements. Father-custody families in Taiwan received more income and more grandparent child rearing support than single mothers. Single mothers expressed more child rearing worry than single fathers. (Contains 20 references.) (Author/AA)

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Mother vs. Father Custody Effects for Taiwanese Preschoolers

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Abstract

This study examined the effects of divorce and custody arrangements on children's emotional adjustment and gender role development two years post divorce. The sample consisted of 90 children; 30 in father custody with 30 in mother custody and 30 in intact families. Teachers, blind to study purposes and well acquainted with children, rated the children on the Preschool Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ) which rates degree of maladjustment. Each child had an individual Gender Constancy Interview (GCI) and each parent provided demographic and family information. No differences in level of maladjustment were found for children of divorced vs. intact families. Regardless of family status, boys were rated as significantly more aggressive than girls. Regardless of custody arrangement, boys in divorced families were rated higher than girls as hostile-aggressive and hyperact-distractable. Children with same sex custodial parent were rated as.better adjusted emotionally than children in custody with the opposite sex parent. Older preschool boys in mother custody had more advanced gender role development than children in other custody arrangements. Father custody families in Taiwan received more income and more grandparent childrearing support than single mothers. Single mothers expressed more childrearing worry than single fathers.

Key words: Taiwanese preschoolers; divorce; Custody effects

MOTHER VS. FATHER CUSTODY EFFECTS FOR TAIWANESE PRESCHOOLERS

Meta-analyses of studies of children of divorce have consistently found that parental divorce is associated with negative child outcomes in the areas of cognitive competence and social-emotional adjustment (Amato, 1993; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982; Kurdek, 1983; Kurtz, 1993; Wallerstein, 1987). Hetherington & Arasteh (1988) explain that during the first two years after divorce the typical marked disruption in parent-child relationships usually means that a preoccupied, emotionally distressed parent and an acting out, demanding child are likely to have difficulty supporting or consoling each other and can aggravate each other's problems.

Sex role differences have been found for children of divorce. A father is more likely to sustain visitation with a son than a daughter after divorce (Hetherington,et al., 1982). The present study extends the field of inquiry into effects of divorce on children to a different culture, Taiwan. Children in divorce adjudications in Taiwan are preferentially awarded by the court to the father's custody. Little is known about children in father custody (Meyer & Garasky,1993; Santrock, Warshak, & Elliott, 1982). Yet in a patriarchal culture there may be differences in outcomes for children's socioemotional functioning in father vs. mother custody in comparison with children from intact families.

Many variables impact on benign or more troubling outcomes

for children of divorce, such as sex of child, age at time of divorce, time since divorce, parental anger and conflict, parenting skill, parental depression, financial status, social supports, such as availability of affordable, high quality child care, access to noncustodial parent, presence of and relationship with stepparent, or sex of custodial parent (Colletta, 1983). Externalizing behavioral disturbances are more frequently reported for boys after divorce, and internalizing behavioral disturbances are reported for both boys and girls (Zaslow, 1989).

Freudian psychoanalytic theory suggests that identification with same-sex parent is an outcome of the Oedipal conflict during the preschool years. Thus, a son who is in mother custody, presumably without a "salient male model with whom to identify and no major rival for his mother's affections" (Stevenson & Black, 1994, p. 74) may have more difficulty with masculine gender role identity and development. Indeed, disruptions in parent-child relationships are reported as more marked and enduring for custodial mothers and their sons, who were more likely to become entangled in escalating coercive interchanges (Hetherington, 1988). In study of single and remarried families after divorce, Hetherington et al., 1992 confirmed findings of greater negativity and less control in the relationship of divorced mothers with sons.

Some research in Western nations has supported the idea that children in single-parent homes are better off living with a

same-sex parent (Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Warshak & Santrock, 1983). However, using data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of thousands of children, Downey & Powell (1993) were unable to find support for outcomes that suggested both males and females benefit from living with their same-sex parent after divorce.

Purpose of the Study

The present research was designed to explore socioemotional behavioral adjustment and gender identity development for Taiwanese preschool female and male children in either father or mother custody after divorce in comparison with children living in intact families. Traditionally, the Taiwanese consider divorce a great shame and tragedy, particularly for women. Women in an age range comparable (15 to 29 years) to that of this study, for example, are more vulnerable to suicide (two to five times higher than men's rates) (Huang, 1976; Wolf, 1972). Children of divorce, especially boys, are more likely to be assigned to father custody by court order (2 out of 3 cases, Huang, 1982) in contrast with the USA, where 9 of 10 children of divorce are awarded to mother custody.

Since the main effects of post-divorce stress on children have been cited as occurring within the first 18 to 24 months, children were studied after this adjustment period (M = 2.3 years). No subjects were living in remarried families. The questions posed in this research related to possible differences in socioemotional behavioral difficulties and in gender identity

development among boys and girls living in father vs. mother custody vs. intact families in an Asian culture that preferentially supports custody by fathers.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Subjects

The subjects were 90 middle class preschoolers ages 3 to 7 (M = 5.39, SD = 1.00) attending 25 childcare centers in Taipei, Taiwan. Thirty children in mother custody and 30 children in father custody families were matched for age of child and of parent, gender, birth order, number of years since divorce, number of visits with noncustodial parent, and education of parent. Thirty children from intact middle class families were then matched with the two divorce groups (See Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Tests and Assessments

Parents were interviewed at home in an open-ended interview that permitted assessment of: parental economic well being and any changes in economic status after divorce; amount of personal support from grandparents (very common in Taiwanese culture); and degree of parental worry over emotional relationship with child and child's development.

Head teachers (N = 57) who were blind to the purposes or

questions posed in the study, and who were familiar with the child for at least three months, rated each child on the Preschool Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ, Behar & Stringfield, 1974). This short screening instrument consists of 30 items rated from "doesn't apply to "applies sometimes" to "certainly applies". The PBQ total score identifies the extent of preschoolers' behavior problems. Three PBQ factor scores extracted by factor analysis are labelled: Hostile aggressive, Anxious-fearful, and Hyperactive-distractible.

The Gender Constancy Interview (GCI, Slaby & Frey, 1975) was translated into Taiwanese and administered individually to each child. The interview audiotape of the five questions and counter-questions was coded to reflect each child's attainment of: gender identity (Stage 1, the child clearly knows he or she is a boy or a girl), gender stability over time (Stage 2), and gender consistency across situations and motivations (Stage 3). Gender consistency questions reflect the fact that children must learn that even if they wore clothes of the opposite sex or wished to be of the opposite sex, they would not be able to change.

Pilot testing with Taiwanese preschoolers revealed that a warm-up procedure increased child comfort with the GCI questions and counterquestions. Using long haired Taiwanese dolls with green hair and orange hair, the interviewer (PS) played a guessing game: " Can you tell me which doll is a boy and which doll is a girl?", After the child's response, the counter

question was asked " Is this a ---?", referring to the sex not chosen by the child. The children enjoyed the interaction with the longhaired dolls. After the warm-up game they could flip up the long hair and discover each doll's sexual attributes; they then readily cooperated in the interview.

RESULTS

Effects of sex of child, sex of parent, and marriage groups status were analyzed by ANOVA, t-tests, and least squares means analyses with the dependent variables specified as GCI Stage scores and as PBQ total score, factor scores, and subsets of PBQ scores identified as externalizing or internalizing behaviors.

Preschool Behavior Questionnaire

Divorced vs. Intact Families

There was no significant difference between mean total PBQ scores (M = 48.07 vs. M = 47.57) for children from divorced vs. intact families, nor were there PBQ factor score differences as a function of divorced or intact family status (See Table 2).

Insert Table 2 about here

Sex Differences

Divorced families. For children in divorced families, there was a trend for boys to be rated higher than girls on total PBQ score (M = 50.10 vs. M = 46.03; F (1, 58) = 3.38, p = .07). Girls were not rated significantly higher than boys on any PBQ item. Boys' scores were significantly higher ($p<.05$) than girls' scores on the Hyperactive-distractibility PBQ factor as indexed by items such as squirminess, poor concentration, and restlessness (M = 8.20 vs. M = 6.90, F [1,58] = 5.22, $p<.05$). There was a trend toward higher scores for boys compared with girls on the Hostile-aggressive factor (M = 11.73 vs. M = 10.00, F[1,58] = 3.93, $p<.10$). No sex differences were found for the Anxious-fearful factor.

Intact families. In intact families, mean PBQ total scores were similar for boys and girls (M = 49.67 vs. M = 45.47). Boys were rated as significantly higher ($p<.05$) than girls both on the Hostile-aggressive factor (M = 11.80 vs. M = 9.67) and on the Hyperactive-distractible factor (M = 8.60 vs. M = 6.33), but did not differ from girls on the Anxious-fearful factor (see Table 2).

Externalizing vs. internalizing PBQ items. Because effects of the stress of divorce may be reflected in different kinds of behavioral disturbance in boys compared with girls, a separate analysis was made for "externalizing" aggression factors vs. "internalizing " items rated on the PBQ. Externalizing aggression factors revealed the same significant differences as a function

of child sex that had been found for the PBQ Aggression-hostility factor. The internalizing items, which have been suggested as more likely to characterize preschool girls under stress,include: shy, miserable, fearful, worries, stares into space, stutters, soils self, and bites nails. The mean scores for this internalizing subset of items, however, did not differ significantly between males and females in divorced families ($\underline{M}$ = 33.53 vs. $\underline{M}$ = 31.67) or for males vs. females in intact families ($\underline{M}$ = 33.60 vs. $\underline{M}$ = 31.47). Thus, sex differences were not found for internalizing items, regardless of family arrangement.

Mother vs. Father Custody

A 2 (sex of child) by 2 (custodial arrangement) ANOVA was performed on each PBQ factor to examine the effects of possible differences as a simultaneous function of child gender and parental custodial arrangement. The Least-squares means technique was then applied to estimate subclass marginal mean differences.

Children in mother custody families received significantly higher total PBQ teacher ratings than children in father custody families ($\underline{M}$ = 50.50 vs. $\underline{M}$ = 45.63, $\underline{F}$ [1,58] = 4.84, $\underline{p}$<.03) (See Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

PBQ Item Comparisons. Children in mother custody received significantly higher PBQ item ratings than children in father custody on the following items: blames others; doesn't

share; irritable; inconsiderate; worries; cries (See Table 3).

The vulnerability to stress for children in custody with the opposite sex parent was also revealed by analysis of the directionality of effect for the 30 PBQ items. Although the mean differences in most cases between individual PBQ item scores of children in mother vs. father custody did not reach significance, yet children in mother custody families received higher ratings of behavioral difficulties on 24 of the 30 items (see Table 3). When item directionality was assessed, significant differences in both the Wilcoxon signed ranks test (p=.0001) and the sign test[1] (p =.0005) were found. For a majority of the PBQ items, mother-custody children were significantly more likely to be rated by teachers as exhibiting more emotional stress in their behaviors.

Same Sex Custody

Sex of parent and sex of child in custody did make a difference in teacher rated adjustment as reflected in total PBQ scores and factor scores. The ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction (F [1,58] = 16.80, p<.001) such that boys in mother custody families (M = 57.07) and girls in father custody families (M = 48.13) had higher PBQ total scores compared with children in same-sex parental custody (see Table 4).

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[1] The Wilcoxon signed ranks test is designed to make an inference about the location of a population, namely that the mean from which the sample is drawn is equal to zero. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test requires that the assumption that the distribution is symmetric; the sign tests does not.

Insert Table 4 about here

Significant two-way interactions ($p<.01$) confirmed this same-sex custody difference for all three PBQ factors. For the Hostile aggressive factor, boys in mother custody and girls in father custody had significantly higher factor scores than their counterparts in same-sex custody ($F[1,58] = 6.72$, $p<.01$) (See Table 5). For the Anxious-fearful factor, mother custody boys and father custody girls differed significantly from their counterparts (F [1,58] = 7.49, $p<.008$) (See Table 6). For the Hyperactive-distractible factor, boys in mother custody and girls in father custody differed significantly from their counterparts in same-sex custody (F [1,58] = 10.39, $p<.002$) (See Table 7).

Insert Tables 5, 6, and 7 about here

Girls in father custody had significantly higher scores on a subset of PBQ items that reflect anxious internalizing stress in comparison with boys in father custody (M = 33.27 vs. M = 29,07, respectively).

Girls in father custody were rated as significantly more distressed in behavior (higher total PBQ scores) than girls in mother custody (M = 48.13 vs. M = 43.93, $p<.01$). Their PBQ ratings were significantly ($p<.01$) higher than girls in mother custody on all three PBQ factors: the PBQ Aggression-hostility

factor (M = 10.20 vs. M = 9.80), the Anxious-fearful factor (M = 8.67 vs. M = 7.87), and the Hyperactive-distractible factor (M = 7.47 vs. M = 6.33) (See Tables 5,6, and 7).

Boys in father custody had significantly lower ratings of behavioral disturbance (total PBQ scores) than boys in intact families. They also had significantly ($p<.01$) lower PBQ factor scores for Aggression-hostility (M = 6.93 vs. M = 9.47), for Anxious-fearfulness (M = 7.20 vs. M =9.20), and for Hyperactive-distractibility (M = 6.93 vs. M = 9.47) than boys in mother custody. It is of interest to note that boys in father custody had significantly lower Hyperactive-distractible scores compared with boys in intact families.

Gender Constancy Interview

Cognitive developmental theory posits that gender stage development is related to children's ages and stages. For a more fine-tuned analysis, therefore, the subjects' age distribution was divided into two levels: children from 3 to 5 years were labelled "younger" group and children from 5 to 7 years were labelled as "older" preschoolers. This left small numbers of children in each subgroup. No differences by sex of child were found for the younger preschoolers. But sex of child did prove significant as a factor when comparing older preschool girls and boys. That is, among the older preschoolers, 5/6 boys and 1/7 girls reached the highest level (Stage 3) of gender concept development ($p=.02$ by Fisher's exact test).

Of the 90 children individually assessed, 8 were at Stage 0; they did not yet have gender identity. Each was not quite sure whether she or he was a girl or a boy. All eight were from the younger group. There were three girls from father custody, one girl and one boy from mother custody, and two boys and one girl from intact families.

Of the 33 children at the highest GCI level, 20 were in the older group and 13 in the younger group. Custodial arrangement made a difference. None of the seven younger girls in father custody reached Stage 3, although 2/5 younger boys in father custody did. By Fisher's exact test, a trend toward significance was found for mother custody preschoolers regardless of age: for girls in mother custody, 2/15 reached the highest level of gender understanding compared with 7/15 boys (p=.10, two-tailed test). Among the older boys in divorced families, 3/10 in father custody and 5/6 in mother custody reached the highest level (p=.04, by Fisher's exact test). No custody differences were found for younger boys or girls or older girls.

Demographic Changes After Divorce

Family Income

In response to the question "What is your family income situation after divorce, either increase or decrease or unchanged"?, 63.3% of single fathers reported "unchanged" whereas 73.3% of single mothers reported a decrease. Thus, 22/30 women

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compared with 8/30 men reported a lower family income after divorce ($\chi 2$ (1, N= 60) = 13.07, p <.0005). Single mothers in Taiwan encountered significantly more financial hardship than men did after marital disruption (See Table 8).

Insert Table 8 about here

Grandparent Support

Divorced fathers (80%) were significantly more likely to receive grandparent support with childcare than were divorced mothers (56.7%): 24/30 single fathers lived with grandparents and 17/30 single mothers [$\chi 2$ (1, N=60 = 3.77, p =.05] (see Table 9).

Insert Table 9 about here

Current Relationship with Child

Almost half of the mothers with custody (43.3%) and half of the fathers with custody reported having a "pretty good" or "excellent" relationship with their preschoolers. Almost half of the single parents reported that they had a better relationship with the child after divorce. However, 43.3% of single mothers compared with 23.4% of single fathers reported that they felt either "not so good" or "really troubled" about their relationship with the preschooler. When those divorced parents who reported either an unchanged or fine relationship were contrasted with those expressing concern, then twice as many

single mothers expressed troubled concern about their children's postdivorce adjustment as did single fathers [χ^2 (1,$\underline{N}$=60) = 2.73, $\underline{p}$ <.10] (See Table 10).

Insert Table 10 about here

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Divorce indirectly affects children's well being when a parent under great stress because of loss of income and lack of family supports becomes depressed and unable to cope. Then that parent may become more preoccupied with personal troubles and unable to provide the intimate, positive attention and daily structure that the child needs. Children become "overburdened" (Wallerstein, 1989). Some parents become more enmeshed and anxious about the wellbeing of the child, or they exhibit combinations of behaviors that are troubling to the child (Colletta, 1983).

The present research shows more indirect than direct effects of divorce on preschooler's socioemotional adjustment. Few effects of divorce per se were found for behavioral difficulties among the children of these middle class families in comparison with intact families studied in Taiwan. That is, when rated two or more years after the divorce by teachers who knew them well, there was only a trend but not a significant difference in PBQ maladjustment scores between children from intact families in

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comparison with children living in divorced families. Indeed, teachers rated boys in intact families as significantly higher in maladjustment (total PBQ scores) than boys in father custody families.

Although girls from intact families received the lowest scores for conduct problems reflecting aggression or hyperactivity, they did show more anxiety and fearfulness than boys in intact families and than children raised by same sex custodial parents. There were no significant differences in total PBQ scores for girls in mother or father custody and girls in intact families. There were no differences found for the PBQ Anxious-fearful factor between boys and girls from divorced or intact families.

Effects of sex of child were prominent regardless of family configuration. Boys were rated significantly higher in maladjustment (total PBQ score) than girls. Specifically, when the factor scores were analyzed, boys were significantly higher than girls for the PBQ Aggressive-hostile and Hyperactive-distractible factors. These data confirm in an Asian culture, the USA findings that males, regardless of family configuration, show more aggression than females.

Data on the divorced families in this Taiwanese sample revealed that custody arrangement made a significant difference in child distress. Children who were in custody with same-sex parents fared optimally in terms of teacher ratings of adjustment. The PBQ total means for boys in father custody and

girls in mother custody were the lowest recorded ($\underline{M}$ = 43.13 and $\underline{M}$ = 43. 93 respectively). Boys in father custody had significantly lower maladjustment scores than boys in intact families; and they had significantly lower PBQ scores and subscores than boys in mother custody.

Children in custody with opposite-sex parents had more emotional behavioral troubles. Girls in father custody fared less well than girls in mother custody. Teachers rated them significantly higher on maladjustment (mean total PBQ scores and all three factor scores) than girls in mother custody. Boys in mother custody had significantly higher maladjustment (total mean PBQ score = 57.07) than preschoolers in all other family configurations, including intact families.

Thus, custody with the opposite sex parent seems to present significant stresses for preschoolers. These data thus support earlier findings in the USA by Santrock & Warshak (1979) that both boys and girls of divorce have more behavior problems when the opposite sex parent has custody. Particularly in Taiwanese society, sons may receive overly high parental expectations and feel more stressed in a family without a father figure. Hetherington et al. (1978) have described for a USA sample the coercive relationship that develops between a young boy and his single divorced mother. This coercive relationship may be further intensified if the mother sees her son more than her daughter as being like the child's father in some negative way (Hetherington, 1980; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Thus, predictions of Freudian

psychoanalytic theory as well as social learning modeling theory are supported by these cross-cultural data.

Findings on gender identity , stability and consistency for this study confirmed Slaby & Frey's hypothesis that there is a developmental progression for these three aspects of gender role understanding. Despite the small subcell sizes results of this study seem to indicate that older preschool boys raised in mother custody families may be more advanced in reaching the highest levels of gender understandings. If confirmed in larger studies, such a finding would lend support to cognitive developmental theory. Children construct their own concepts, whether of physical operations or of gender identity. The stress of being raised by a single mother in a society that strongly values males more than females may sharpen the cognitive dissonance felt by preschool males and enhance the equilibration process by which they form their ideas of male and female sex role characteristics.

These data support the thesis that there is a complex interaction in divorced families between sex of child, personal/ societal and economic supports available to the divorced parent, preferential societal value given to males, adjustment problems and sex role identity of preschool children.

Children from mother custody families showed more crying, worrying, blaming others, not sharing toys, irritability, inconsiderateness and fussiness. Divorced single mothers in Taiwan may feel deeply stressed even longer than two years after

the divorce. Their social status is inferior to that of men in their culture and divorce carries a greater stigma for a woman compared with single mothers in the USA. Almost twice the number of single mothers compared with single fathers reported that they felt increasing worry and anxiety about their preschooler after the divorce. Single mothers expressed greater concern about the lack of the other parent as a role model for their young children. They received significantly less social support from grandparents and also had more financial hardship than did single fathers.

Increased stress in the lives of the single mothers may account for their greater worries about their children and the increased behavioral stresses that the preschool teachers noted. If personal and societal supports to alleviate stresses were available for single mothers, then perhaps some of the trends toward increased emotional distress in their preschool male children could be mitigated. Single fathers too may need more parenting insights and skills to assist them in more sensitive rearing of their preschool daughters.

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Table 1

Demographic Variables: Means for the Three Study Groups

Variables	Father-custody M	Mother-custody M	Intact M
Age of child (years)	5.73(.87) [4-7]	5.30(.92) [3-7]	5.13(1.14) [3-7]
Age of parent (years)	33.33(4.83) [26-45]	29.13(2.81) [23-34]	33.33(4.95) [24-44]
Education[a] (years)	10.53(3.75) [0-16]	11.27(1.86) [6-16]	13.47(2.16)*** [9-16]
Number of[b] children	2.23(1.07)**	1.67(.84)	1.93(.58)
Divorced years	2.60(.97)	2.00(.87)	-
Visitation	4.77 [once a week-never]	4.14 [once a week-never]	-

Note. n=30. SDs in parentheses( ). Range in parentheses[ ].

a. Differences are between each custody group in comparison with the intact group. b. Difference refers to father custody vs. mother custody.

**p<.05 ***p<.01

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Table 2

Means and SDs of Each PBQ Factor by Family Structure and Child Sex

	Divorced Family		Intact Family	
	boys	girls	boys	girls
Factors	M n=30	M n=30	M n=15	M n=15
1. Hostile-Aggressive	11.73[a] (3.83)	10.00[a] (3.45)	11.80[b] (2.91)	9.67[b] (2.12)
Kicks peers				
Destroys belongings				
Blames others				
Fights				
Bullies				
Doesn't share				
Inconsiderate				
2. Anxious-Fearful	8.20 (1.96)	8.27 (2.23)	8.00 (2.70)	8.47 (2.20)
Fearful				
Stares into space				

26(continued)

(Table 2 continued)

Miserable				
Cries				
Gives up easily				
3.Hyperactive-	8.20 [c]	6.90 [c]	8.60 [d]	6.33 [d]
Distractible	(2.48)	(2.28)	(2.70)	(1.92)
Inattentive				
Restless				
Poor concentration				
Squirmy				

Note. SDs are in parentheses.

[a] $p < .10$. [b] $p < .05$. [c] $p < .05$. [d] $p < .05$

Table 3

PBQ Items Means and SDs by Custodial Arrangement

PBQ Items	Father Custody M n=30	Mother Custody M n=30
1.Fearful	1.60(.62)	1.77(.73)
2.Kicks peers	1.50(.57)	1.63(.81)
3.Tics	1.47(.68)	1.40(.56)
4.Tells lies	1.80(.66)	1.67(.66)
5.Inattentive	1.90(.85)	2.07(.74)
6.Destroys belongings	1.40(.62)	1.43(.63)
7.Blames others	1.63(.67)	2.07**(.74)
8.Disobedient	1.40(.50)	1.60(.77)

(continued)

(Table 3 continued)

9.Stares into space	1.63(.67)	1.63(.62)
10.Restless	1.63(.67)	1.97(.89)
11.Fights	1.60(.56)	1.80(.76)
12.Worries	1.60(.50)	1.83*(.59)
13.Solitary play	1.60(.62)	1.70(.70)
14.Bullies	1.23(.50)	1.43(.63)
15.Miserable	1.57(.68)	1.53(.57)
16.Doesn't share	1.27(.52)	1.70***(.75)
17.Irritable	1.37(.56)	1.70*(.79)
18.Shy	1.47(.63)	1.60(.72)
19.Inconsiderate	1.30(.54)	1.73***(.74)

(continued)

(Table 3 continued)

20.Disliked	1.33(.55)	1.40(.62)
21.Bites nails	1.43(.57)	1.57(.57)
22.Poor concentration	1.90(.76)	2.03(.67)
23.Fussy	1.50(.68)	1.87*(.82)
24.Soiled	1.33(.48)	1.53(.73)
25.Stutters	1.40(.56)	1.30(.54)
26.Follows after	1.73(.74)	1.87(.78)
27.Cries	1.37(.62)	1.90***(.80)
28.Gives up easily	1.77(.77)	1.70(.70)
29.Sexual problems	1.13(.35)	1.23(.51)
30.Squirmy	1.77(.73)	1.83(.87)

(continued)

(Table 2 continued)

Total PBQ		
	45.63(9.21)	50.50**(10.40)

Note. Starred items indicate significant mean differences between custody groups. SDs in parentheses.

*p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.

Table 4

Total PBO Cell Means by Sex of Child and by Custodial Arrangemment

	Father-custody M	Mother-custody M	Total M
Boys	43.13	57.07***	50.10*
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Girls	48.13***	43.93	46.03
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Total	45.63	50.50**	48.07
	n=30	n=30	n=60

Note. In the total column, significance is marked between boys and girls. Otherwise, differences are noted between custody groups.

*p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.

Table 5

Hostile-aggressiveness Factor Cell Means by Sex of Child and by Custodial Arrangemment

	Father-custody	Mother-custody	Total
	M	M	M
Boys	9.67	13.80***	11.73**
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Girls	10.20**	9.80	10.00
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Total	9.93	11.80**	10.87
	n=30	n=30	n=60

Note. In the total column, significance is marked between boys and girls. Otherwise, differences are noted between custody groups.

**p<.05. ***p<.01.

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Table 6

The Cell Means for Anxious-fearfulness Factor by Sex of Child and by Custodial Arrangemment

	Father-custody	Mother-custody	Total
	M	M	M
Boys	7.20	9.20***	8.20
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Girls	8.67***	7.87	8.27
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Total	7.93	8.53	8.23
	n=30	n=30	n=60

Note. Differences between custody groups are starred.

***p<.01.

Table 7

The Cell Means for Hyperactive-distractibility Factor by Sex of Child and by Custodial Arrangemment

	Father-custody	Mother-custody	Total
	M	M	M
Boys	6.93	9.47***	8.20**
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Girls	7.47***	6.33	6.90
	n=15	n=15	n=30
Total	7.20	7.90	7.55
	n=30	n=30	n=60

Note. Differences between custody groups are starred. In the total column, difference is starred between boys and girls.

**p< .05. ***p<.01.

Table 8

Income after Divorce by Custodial Arrangement

	Father-custody n = 30	Mother-custody n = 30
more	3 (10%)	4 (13.3%)
less	8 (26.7%)	22 (73.3%)
unchanged	19 (63.3%)	4 (13.3%)
Total	30 (100%)	30 (100%)

$\chi^2(1, n=60) = 13.07$, $p=.0003$, when analyzing by two groups: (more/unchanged) vs. (less).

Table 9

Grandparent Childrearing Support in Single-Parent Families

	grandparent as major caregiver(%)	no grandparent as major caregiver(%)
single-father	80% (24)	20% (6)
single-mother	56.7% (17)	43.3% (13)

$\chi^2(1, n=60)=3.77$, $p=.05$.

Table 10

Parent Assessment of Current Relationship with Child by Custodial Arrangement

	Father-custody n = 30	Mother-custody n = 30
excellent	3 (10%)	4 (13.3%)
pretty good	12 (40%)	9 (30%)
unchanged	8 (26.7%)	4 (13.3%)
not so good	5 (16.7%)	9 (30%)
really troubled	2 (6.7%)	4 (13.3)
Total	30 (100%)	30 (100%)